[P. 100b] Wukchumni

231 chumni people. Fox (adja) and wildcat (tunod) "may have been somebody's poša," but M.L. could not connect them with any known family. She did not know whether the Waksachi had totemic animals or not, but claimed that Gawia, Telamni, and "everybody down this way" had them. The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod chiefs all had Eagle as their family animal; M.L. was uncertain if this held for the Tachi.

825 782 432 Redemption of totem animal.--When eagles, bears, or coyotes were killed it was necessary that a propitiatory ceremony be held to ensure the continued good will of the animals. There was an ill-defined but firm belief that all animals existed "somewhere," that any member of the species that was killed returned to this supernatural place and reported on the treatment which it had received when killed. Should an unfavorable report be made, ill would betide the killer, and the animals would no longer permit themselves to be victims of human hunters. This was the basis of all hunting formulae. The deer, however, was not totemic, and its propitiation was only the duty of the hunter. But eagles, bears, and coyotes were totems and it was the function of the lineages for which they were symbols to redeem them from their killers. These animals were feared not only for their physical prowess but for their supernatural powers.

825 782 J.P. described the ritual for bears and eagles.

539 432 If a man killed a bear, he would take it to a man who had Bear for poša. If the animal had been killed close by, the whole carcass would be carried to the Bear man's home. Usually it was far away, so the hunter just cut off the bear's feet and put them in a basket. Then he took this, some other baskets, and a blanket and went to the Bear man's home. The blanket was laid down before the door; the basket containing the feet was placed in the center and the other baskets ranged behind it.

The house chosen was that of the head of the Bear lineage who was usually the oldest Bear man and a Bear dancer. He sent a winatum to gather other members of the Bear lineage. When they saw what was there, "they went and got food, money, and baskets and traded with the hunter for the bear's feet and other things with it." The head Bear man go the feet and used the claws for a necklace. When the skin was brought he would buy that too. The skin included the head but not the skull. The skin would be tanned for use either as a blanket or for the Bear Dance costume. "It had the hair and ears left on and sure looked pretty!" While he was buying these things the Bear man "talked to the bear: he told it to be good, not to run after anyone, nor to kill people." Sometimes the other people cried while he was doing this.

825 782 432 It was incumbent upon the Bear people to redeem their poša. "The buyer would get broke while the hunter made lots of money." Then the hunter's people would have a big feast, for

825 they got the meat as well as the money since
782 the pošam could not eat it. No special dis-
432 posal was made of the carcass, according to this informant, a statement which I have always thought dubious.[237]

825 "Eagle was worse. If a man killed an
782 eagle he must take it to the tia'a or he'd die
539 right away, because Eagle would get mad." Then
432 all the chief's relatives would gather to pay for their totem; a winatum called them to come. All the tia'a's people cried when they saw that dead bird. Since there were sometimes two or three chiefly men in a village they would divide the buying, thus, one would buy the wing feathers, another the leg bones, and another the down. Then the killer of the eagle ate the meat. "The chief would not let those people gathered there go away until all the meat was eaten." When the killer had finished, the chief took the eagle's carcass and buried it in water so that it would be revived and return to its supernatural home. As he did this he said, "tuṇdi ta po dta ma tupu nita" (? ? you go up). This was the same phrase used by a hunter when he had killed game.

825 The same thing was done with a coyote car-
782 cass. It was taken to a Coyote elder who called his people to pay for it. The coyote
432 lay on a blanket, the people threw down their strings of money over it, and cried. If the hide were wanted for a Coyote clown costume, it would be skinned, but if not, the Coyote man "buried the whole thing right then because nobody ate that meat."

825 Totemic animals and associated professions.---J.P. and M.P. named a list of totemic animals and their associated professions.

Rattlesnake: for rattlesnake shaman who made the Rattlesnake Ritual
Bear (both black and brown): for Bear Dancers
Cougar: for chiefs who might have this in addition to Eagle
Eagle: for all chiefs
Dove: for all winatums
Coyote: "always clowns"
Trout: only one person [Henry Lawrence] known to have this as a family emblem
Raven: ceremonial manager
Crow [blackbird (?), aduwuts]: J.P.'s maternal grandmother had this; no profession

Neither informant ever heard of anyone having deer as poša (though he could be a dream-helper). Everyone ate deer, all kinds of
[262] squirrels and rodents, woodpeckers and other birds. No person killed or ate any portion of his totem animal.

These are all the totemic animals these informants could recall for Wukchumni people. They believed that the Gawia, Yokod, and other tribes had the same family totems: "they were

[237] See, for instance, Heizer and Mewse, 592 ff.

622 čo ´k:t, Nutuwich, and his wife, č:nk: ´lw:t, Tokelyuwich, are the only other chiefly persons E.M. recalls.

624 Another official, who made announcements and managed festivities and ceremonies, was the yate ´':č (talker or manager). He seems to have been a superwinatum, serving as a go-between for the chief and people; the chief addressed the people directly only when the yate':č was absent. At gatherings such as the chief's [782] party," the yate':č "prayed" before each meal, saying, "Come close to the table [sic], we are going to have a good feast. When this supper is over, we will play and have a good time."

The only Kechayi manager whom E.M. remembers by name was Ko ´čon, a Nutuwich; one of the Posgisa was E'uki ´yi. The office was paternally inherited, but moiety affiliation did not affect its functions.

The winatum "ran errands for the chief," gathered wood for public fires, carried messages. He was paid for his services. The position was inherited in the male line, but not all sons of a winatum had to function as such. The family chose one or more of its sons to take up the work, but if a lad were incompetent or unwilling, he did not have to undertake it.

Moieties

616 The classification of animals, birds, and some vegetable foods as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich is given below. The informant was certain that no natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, or even land, sky, and water, were classified in this way. These were asked about indirectly, and also more directly, along with animals
616 and plant names. Most of the items below were given voluntarily in response to a general
825 question.

Tokelyuwich	Nutuwich
to ´x:l: eagle	po ´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
pu ´nal: hawk (Swainson ?)[57]	ya ´y:l: falcon[58]
upla ´li: dove	ho ´its: buzzard
a ´luwut: crow	hi ´hi ´na: horned owl
ho ´toi: raven[59]	´so ´tot: white owl
u ´i ´ui: roadrunner	´o ´č ´oč: magpie
wa ´twat: duck	hu ´mnul: quail
bučo ´nhal: redwing blackbird	ṭai ´'ṭai ´: blue jay

[57] Light, with black shoulders and head.

[58] Younger brother of Cooper's hawk.

[59] Larger than a ´luwut.

they had the custom of passing the pipe around a group so each person might take a few puffs. He thought "they had their own tobacco," whereas S.O. said they got it by trade from the Western Mono and Yokuts. Both are probably correct: the San Joaquin Valley tobacco no doubt was desired as superior.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS, BELIEFS

The following times of day were designated for conversational and practical purposes by the Michahai:

upiu´: daytime
o´puš ti´ši: sunrise [sun comes]
či´nao: noon [now means "dinner"]
siwa´lši: midafternoon [lit., "downing" or "lessening" referring to the sun]
niawa´lči: sundown ["about gone," not literally]
toi'a´nši: night, dark
ču´pao toi'an: midnight [lit., center, halfway between two points]
toi´niu: post-midnight
tawa´niu ti´ši: dawn [lit., morning star comes]

The morning star, sun, moon, and water were all addressed with a prayerful statement which was standardized, the essence of which was, "I am doing thus now, may I continue to do thus."

A well-reared man or woman always rose before sunrise and walked out to speak to the morning star (tawa´nač) saying, "I'll see you when you come out as long as I live." The new moon (hača´ main u´puš) was addressed likewise, "I see you at this moment. I'll see you all the time as long as I live." The full moon was called hi´am wate´'eša upuš main (now enlarged moon our).

The sun S.O. called upuš main, the same term as for moon, adding that the Wukchumni said opo´lo main. "The sun goes up and comes down always" (referring to its immutability). Shamans of prestige got power from it which they used when making airshot. The sun was addressed at any time, as by a man off hunting, who would say, 'niša´n nan wan upuš nam (good [luck] me give sun my). When the sun sets, it travels back under the earth at night, to the east. The morning star "always comes ahead of the sun to show people that the day is coming." The morning star "switches its place at certain times of the year and becomes the evening star but it is always called by the same name -- tawan'č or site´lši tawan'č." When the morning star comes the night rises "right up to heaven."

The Pleiades are called goi´yuma (young women) as elsewhere with the Yokuts, and the same story of their homosexuality and abandonment of their husbands is known to the Michahai and Waksachi.

W [EP, 2296] Western Mono NS25
Y
821 An eclipse of the moon or sun is attributed to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called
782 by the descriptive phrase, kai´yu s´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´ow" nawa´rit.

W The following four seasons were dis-
Y tinguished: pua´k:n, fall, acorn-dropping time
805 [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu,
221 spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu, summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts
W villages.

Y B.O. gave the following information in Wak-
805 sachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O. for the Michahai.

821

Times, stars, nature:
192 tapewa´no: daytime
552 ha´nos: before sunrise
motve´sihop: sunrise
tukita´wena: noon
motara´tahikup: sunset
ure´´uñus: after sundown
totsoi´´idi: dark or fully night
tara´ue: sun
ta´ow": moon
nasu´mi te´gi´up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"
tapu´ha: morning star
so´so´s: Pleiades
te´gi´up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"
na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse
tuo´pade: sky
to·´uare: clouds
u·´´uare: rain
paho´nop: hail
nu´babi: snow
pi·´b:p: earth, dirt
pasi´wap: sand
Y patigui´noba: mud
W t:p: granite
pahe´: soapstone

823 Directions:
192 pite´kimat: south
quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 239 b] Western Mono NS 25

W Y 787

the dreamer and will be used henceforth for all time. [See dreams recorded below.]

6. Return to bed, but do not sleep under any circumstances.

7. Get up in the morning as usual, but do not bathe or eat.

8. Select some secluded spot outside of the village and start for it in time to arrive not a moment later than high noon.

9. When there, at noon, again address the dream helper, asking its aid, asking it to come again in dreams.

10. Speak respectfully to the sun, moon, and stars, when seen at such times of address or prayer.

11. Refrain from eating meat or grease in any form. Acorn mush and gruel is the regular diet during such quest periods.

This routine was continued as long as one wished but, if one were deeply serious, one might also:

W Y [881] [778]

12. Drink jimsonweed every spring.

13. Go off alone to bask in the sun [advisable but not essential]. Doctors often went out to lie down in the sun. S.O. today (1926) spends much of his time sitting in the sunshine beside his house, fingering and stroking his eagle-down talisman (fig. 2 herein). He attributes his good health to his doing this: "the sun hears and knows everything, both day and night."

W Y 787 782 141

The ordinary person who sought dream power but had no intention of becoming a shaman did

W Y [778]

Fig. 2. Sacred talisman of abalone shell and eagle-down cord belonging to Michahai informant S.O.

[EP. 240a] [redacted] Mono VS25

W Y 787 782 181 so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O., could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some other person, often a young relative, without being considered a real shaman. The desire for good health and long life was a common one; as voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon, and stars it usually ran something like this: "I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help me to have a good life." Water, particularly that of springs, was thought to be immortal -- "it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. Whenever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he "sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would live long."

W Y 787 7778 776 The dream, the dream helper, and the talismans used to represent the helper were all called by the same term, ainič. The talisman was usually some part of the animal dreamed of, and while, as a profane object, it might be secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred and empowered with the supernatural force, t'ipni. Once it became a talisman, it was never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person at a time, but yet might visit several persons the same night. [The likelihood of many persons having the same dream the same night is slight; and the fact might not happen to be disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of in open or common conversation.] When a talisman of a certain helper has been used once, it loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence the need for several dream helpers and talismans if one wanted much and dependable supernatural power. Talismans were loaned among friends and worked as well for another as for the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.) But they were never sold. Shamans frequently assisted each other by lending talismans, or, retaining them themselves, used them to help another accomplish his purpose.[178]

W Y 787 828 As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could only say that it was one's spirit moving about and having the experience. "When you go to sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone off to those springs around here lots of times. Your spirit [aha'bawa, Michahai] goes anywhere." It is the ahabawa that has all dream experience: people who meet in dreams are ahabawa. To illustrate this further S.O. said he once had a home in Drum Valley where he was very happy, living with his wife, and after her death he continued to live there with his mother-in-law. Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there: he sees the place, although he is blind and he knows the house is no longer there. He often

[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate. 171 [174]

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk. 881 276 [752]

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened. 881 276 787

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray. 881 276 [262] [782]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points.

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *hukuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.)

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture.

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

Leave me a little of the sun!
Do not devour it altogether from me!
Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

Let us live long in this world!
This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

You are going to another land.
You will like that land.
You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired.

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode.

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity Chungichnish or any equivalent.

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On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following:

[782
539]

Do you see me!
See me, Tūūshiut!
See me, Pamashiut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Ukat!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

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The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, "maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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that a shout could be heard across it, two warriors famous for dodging stepped forward from each tribe, and each shot one flint-tipped deer arrow from fully bent bow at his companion. Then these men, and they only, shot the crazed antelopes as they circled about within the human inclosure, or sometimes ran until they dropped from fear and exhaustion. Certain of the antelopes with peculiar horns were believed to sing as they ran, with ground owls sitting on their heads. These individuals were spared. The mimic warfare no doubt had magic intent; but the delegation of the shooting to select men served to keep the circle intact, which would certainly have broken under the excitement of every man aiming his arrow at his own quarry.

A safe though far from certain way of hunting bears was to shoot them on moonlight nights from a sort of nest constructed in a tree in their acorn feeding grounds.

When the geese traveled, inflammable brush was piled up, and when the birds were heard approaching on dark, still nights these were suddenly lit. The birds swooped down to the flare, and in their bewilderment were easily killed.

Pigeons were snared in the earliest morning from a comfortable brush booth with a grass window looking out on a leveled platform on which a live decoy was staked and bait scattered. The running noose was on a stick that was slowly shoved through the curtain until a bird stepped within. The victim was smothered with the knee, and the flock soon returned to feed. (Pl. 46.) The decoy was carried in a spindle-shaped cage.

The Yaudanchi capture of eagles was modeled on the principle of their pigeon taking. The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

Of the many ways of capturing fish, a few more unusual ways may be mentioned. Completely darkened booths were built, in which a man lay to spear the fish passing beneath. This device suggests the pigeon snaring and eagle taking arbor. Small fish could sometimes be taken with the scoop-shaped openwork baskets of the women. Poisons were two: ground buckeye nuts with earth stamped into them and crushed *nademe* leaves. Soon after these preparations were thrown into a small stream the fish began to float on the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

three or four days they didn't catch any fish. Then they come back to camp and get that Indian Doctor. They take him along. He got nice, long, *kots* [obsidian] points like you got here. Sometimes, too, he got good rock like your white boy's spin-top [plummet, or plumb-bob shaped stones].

"That Indian Doctor, he make fire of some good kind of weeds. He talk, and talk, and say his good prayers over that fire. All the time he hold his good kots point like big spear point over that fire. Pretty soon that Indian Doctor begin singin'.

"He get up and dance little bit on that tule boat. He hold that kots point in one hand. When he finish dancin' and singin' all his good songs, then that kots point is *tripne* (trip'-ne) [has supernatural power]. Then that Indian Doctor throw that tripne kots point in the lake. Then them Indians catch lots of fish. But they got to pay that Indian Doctor lots of good Indian money, maybe beads. They got three-four kinds beads they use like money."

And that, in my opinion, is the entire secret of the thousands of fine, large spear points found on the dry bed of the old valley lakes.

THE RABBIT DRIVE

San Joaquin Valley pioneers who attended the rabbit drives held by white people during the early eighties will perhaps be surprised to learn that this method of taking rabbits was practiced by the Indians on the same grounds many generations before the white man came.

The number of jack rabbits which a barren, desert country will support is unbelievable to the person who has not seen them. During the Fall of 1929, within ten miles of the city of Tulare, in the area of less than ten acres, the writer saw a swarm of rabbits which undoubtedly numbered not less than 1500. These rabbits had taken refuge in a field which was covered with tumble weeds. As the car passed along two sides of the field the rabbits swarmed across the road in bands of fifty and one hundred. In places they were almost as thick as driven sheep. This is largely the condition in many portions of the San Joaquin when it was occupied by Indians. In those areas the rabbits were commonly taken by driving.

The elaborate preparation made by the white people was of course unknown to the Yokuts, although we are assured that

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

Of the two other directions, up (ṭi´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭi´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´'og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭi´pni.

On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated: "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expressions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayerful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

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773 825 To sum up, Yokuts verbal narratives embodying world history pictured a prototype of the world as they themselves knew it: man and animals changed places, so to say. And, if Yokuts imagination projected backwards the social system of their present, it no less brought forward and attributed to living animals the power they had in the past. Hence, the Yokuts view of the animal world was of more than a subsistence potential. Animals were a power potential as well. It is notable that mythic interest and importance was spread among several species of birds and animals; a few were important but there was no single hero or trickster who usurped the spotlight.

825 This rather tedious recital leads to a most characteristic circumstance of Yokuts and Western Mono culture: that men and animals are peers. The animals were here first; today all dwell together, and while men may exploit these creatures for food and power they may not do so without due regard for their reactive and capricious qualities. It is difficult to convey the subtleties of Yokuts-Mono attitudes, their own position relative to other living beings in the world, without resorting to anecdote. As an example, then:

> Palaha, who was a fine hunter, told of an experience. He set up a rude platform in an oak tree where he intended to hide just before dawn to drop acorns down as a bear lure, then shoot the animal as it fed. He went out as planned—it was barely light. As he came under the tree something hit him on the head; acorns were falling from the platform. Looking up, he saw a small bear standing on the framework and nuzzling at the hoard of bait which rolled off the sides. This Palaha thought excessively funny: that their postions should be reversed, and that the bear was doing to him what he had intended doing to the bear. But beyond this was the sense that the bear thought it funny too, that somehow it was intentional on the animal's part to indulge in a humorous trick.

So often has this intangible appeared when Yokuts or Western Mono speak of the activities of birds and animals that it is clearly an unconscious or unvoiced attitude of equivalence as living creatures in one small world.

The most potent and personal association between the Yokuts-Mono and their faunal contemporaries was manifest in the combination of social and religious systems which provided an animal symbol of patrilineal source to every person. This creature was no less a source of supernatural power than others of the animal world which might be approached for aid if superhuman enablement were desired. A specific relation between tutelary and protégé (po´ša and pošá´m, respectively) existed both for the totemic (patrilineally inherited) animal and for the randomly sought individual animal patron. There was probably no person in Yokuts and Western Mono society who did not have what we may call a social symphysis with some animal, at least in incipient form, and in most

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cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude on the part of the animal tutelary .

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the transgressor.

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably it was "power" (ṭi·pni) that forced success.

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world. Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises," which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the

21 A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first.

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796 826 614 [787] The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[32]

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Teineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 796 [755] The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[33]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kitcyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Wakachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

[782] 622 344 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[32] Informant 'Mariean Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[33] Informant 'Mariean Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

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533 30. Another.

539 yahĭ lulumai
192 yahĭmai lulûmai
sawawa kanama
taniyo
yapiwipiwimai
tawana tsiniyo
hilalĭkiyo
t-awat-i t-awat-

31. Another.

hila ma tă	you
hayâwiyu	(ridicule)
lòkoyowani	(ignorant)
wnătin	whose
humuyu hilĕ	

32. Another.

hòslmi	cold
hòslwimĭne	cold
wanit wilima	from-far (?)
lanâ-na-ma	bear
hòslmi	cold

782 33. A prayer for good fortune. Yauelmani. Evidently a fixed formula. Spoken rapidly, rhythmically, and monotonously, 788 with motions of the arms, alternately and together, to the heart 796 and out again. Seven deities are addressed. The impure vowels found in the names of these deities do not occur in Yauelmani. The r occurring in pitauriut is not a Yokuts sound at all.

782	silkawil	nan
	[illegible]	[illegible]
192	silka-nan	tŏsciut
	[illegible]	[illegible] (= sucker)
539	silka-nan	bamăciut
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	silka-nan	yoxâxalt
	[illegible]	[illegible] (= crusher?)
	silka-nan	etcèpat
	[illegible]	[illegible]

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782
192
539

silka-nau pitsuriut
see mi name

silka-nau tsukit
see me name

silka-nau ukat
see me name (locker?)

yòt·a man amlin nan
together ye help me

nim yèt·au t·ikexo texal
my together is-tied talk

mainyiu lonto
with-the-large mountain

mainyiu silelhaliu
with-the-large rocks

mainyiu witsetaliu
with-the-large trees (woods)

yèt·au polut-nim
together body my

neuk-nim
heart my

yèt·au-mu-nan amalan
together ye me help

t·èpmui
supernatural

yò-ma
and you

dauk
day

yò-ma
and you

toluo
night

yet·a-man
together ye

nau-silèxo
me see

yò
and

yet·au ki
together this

p'aan
world

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34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. Down and kasyin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer.

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wōkitaka-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanas	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wōkitaka-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanas	hunter

35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwis, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the novices. With each phrase he motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. After the third phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect.

ukunka	kin	ilka	tōwayutin	
drink	this	water	for-Tūwhint	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	hamasyutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Hamashint
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaitin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yukhakhait

36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to take of it.

mak	hoham	xoin	hiamu	pēna
we	have	live	long	world
hehi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun.

heuritka-nan	mitèni	opòni	
have me	with-a-little	sun	
anò nan	yèt·an	teomoot'k (or teom'k)	
(not) for-me	altogether	eat-it	
heueit nan	mitèni		
have me	with-a-little		